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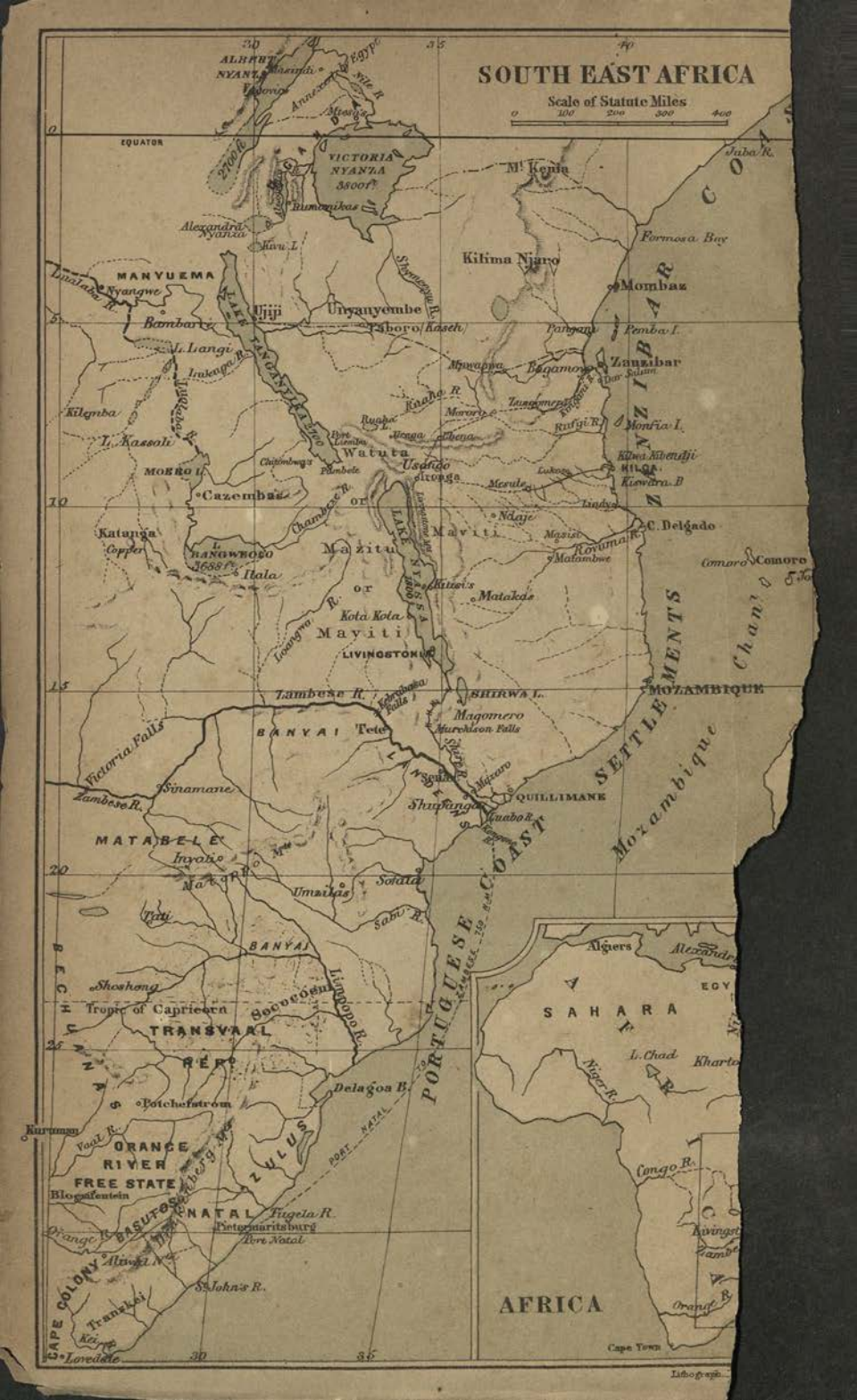
THE CIVILIZATION

OF

SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.


SOUTH EAST AFRICA
Scale of Statute Miles
0 100 200 300 400
EQUATOR
ALBERT NYANZA
Nassib
Gondokoro
Egypt
Nile R.
Abooroo
Annesley Bay
Massowa
VICTORIA NYANZA 3800ft
Mt Kenia
Jaba R.
Alexandra Nyanza
Kavu L.
Kilima Njaro
Formosa Bay
MANYUEMA
Nyangwe
Ujiji
Unyanyembe
Mombaz
Bambarre
Tabora
Kaseh
Pangani
Pemba I.
L. Liangi
Mpwapwa
Bagamoyo
Zanzibar
Dar Salam
Kilemba
Kaobe R.
Monfia I.
L. Kassoli
Watuta
Usagára
Kiswara
MORRO
Cazembaz
Chambeze R.
Maviti
C. Delgado
Katanga
Copper
Mazitu
Matambwe
Comoro
Itala
Matakas
Kola Kola
Mayiti
LIVINGSTONE
Zambese R.
SHIRWA L.
MOZAMBIQUE
Victoria Falls
BANYAI
Tete
Magomero
Murchison Falls
Sinamane
QUILLIMANE
Shirwa
MATABELE
Inyate
Umzilas
Sofala
Sabi R.
Tati
BANYAI
Algiers
Shoshong
Tropic of Capricorn
TRANSVAAL
REP.
SAHARA
L. Chad
Delagoa B.
Potchefstrom
Kurumman
Vaal R.
ORANGE RIVER FREE STATE
Bloemfontein
NATAL
Tugela R.
Pietermaritsburg
Port Natal
Orange R.
Congo R.
Zambesi
Atwaal
St Johns R.
Kei
Lovedale
AFRICA
Cape Town
Lithographic

THE CIVILIZATION

OF

SOUTH EASTERN AFRICA,

INCLUDING

REMARKS ON THE APPROACH TO NYASSA BY THE ZAMBEZI.

AND

NOTES ON THE COUNTRY BETWEEN KILWA AND TANGANIKA.

WITH MAPS.

84536

By JAMES STEVENSON.

"Morning o'er that weird continent
Is dimly breaking."

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Third Edition.

GLASGOW:
JAMES MACLEHOSE, 61 ST. VINCENT STREET,
Publisher to the University.
1877.

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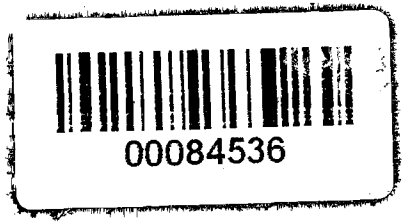
THIS pamphlet is republished in pursuance of a suggestion by Sir Bartle Frere. When addressing the Merchants of Glasgow on the exploration and civilization of Africa, the abolition of the East African slave trade, and its relation to commerce, he said: "There is a good deal more I might say on this subject, but I hope all of you have got a copy of Mr. Stevenson's pamphlet—the paper which he read at the British Association here—which gives a succinct, though clear, account of the present state of things there, and which I hope he will amplify and replenish with a larger map, and with some further additions, which are day by day coming to hand, and which will make the work more valuable."—Speech in Glasgow, 10th Nov., 1876.

In this edition the author has, with these hints in view, brought his account of the recent movements towards the civilization of South-Eastern Africa down to the present date.



PREFACE.

THE first part of the matter included in this reprint was prepared at the instance of influential members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, with a view to the discussion of the subject, in September of last year. It has been mostly rewritten, with information to the present date, but with the omission of the discussion, which turned on points now generally conceded.

A second pamphlet was prepared in fulfilment of an undertaking to have Von der Decken's journal translated, with the view of making a road along his line of route, which Sir Bartle Frere recommended as an important work to the influential meeting which heard his interesting address in the Hall of the Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow in November. An attempt was made in it to set before the English reader, by using cross lights from German and English sources, an accurate view of what such an enterprise as a road from the coast to the northern end of Nyassa involves.

It is satisfactory that arrangements are being made to construct this road as far as Mesule. This will be of great importance in developing the new trade in Indiarubber, which last year reached £100,000, and is one of the most hopeful signs of the slave trade being permanently superseded by legitimate commerce. The next section of the road, as far as to Lake Nyassa, will probably be surveyed this year. A civil engineer in the Indian service is also

co-operating with the Livingstonia Mission and may make investigations at the north end of that lake.

The construction of such a road as we indicate will make it of very little moment to any but the Portuguese themselves what duties they levy at Quillimane or other coast stations. That which is now of the greatest importance is to maintain the freedom of the great line of water communication, which the enterprise of British travellers has disclosed from the mouth of the Shiré to Lake Victoria Nyanza. Our Government should follow out what they have so well begun on the West Coast by refusing to recognize, on unoccupied coasts, any right to obstruct intercourse with the independent races of the interior, or any claim to suzerainty over them. The Portuguese have for many ages been unable to extend their hold on the country beyond half a dozen stations on the coast, and two or three on the Zambezi below the rapids, preventing the natives from getting out except as slaves, but themselves equally unable to get into the country. A new line of inland water communication having been discovered in the interior, with independent access from Zanzibar, this absurd position must come to an end, unless we allow ourselves to be cajoled into permitting this great line of navigation, which we have already throughout its entire length occupied, or have made arrangements to occupy, in the interests of the native races, to pass under the same paralyzing system. The map prefixed, which has found acceptance with the geographical authorities, for the first time indicates the real importance of this line of navigation.

4 Woodside Crescent,
Glasgow, *24th May, 1877.*

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THE CIVILIZATION OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

THIS subject we propose to deal with under three heads —Missionary, Commercial, and Governmental.

Missionary enterprise has become, after, in many cases, fifty years of patient labour, a great power in Southern Africa, tending to the spread of the blessings of civilization in its highest form, and winning the good-will of the natives, of whom careful inquiries prove that above 40,000 are members of Christian congregations, while it is believed about 250,000 attend church or are under regular Christian instruction, and that a million are more or less under the influence of Christianity.*

In Eastern Central Africa the first steps have recently been taken for the establishment of missions in the interior, which I proceed very briefly to describe. In order to do so intelligently, it is necessary to speak of the missions in South Africa which specially serve as a model. They may be said to aim at three objects—industrial, educational, and religious training.

In order to show more precisely what such an institu-

* Missions are conducted by the London Missionary Society among the Matabele and generally in Southern Central Africa; by the Scottish Free Church among the Kaffirs and Fingos, and the Zulus of Natal; by the United Presbyterians among the Kaffirs; by Episcopalians (S. P. G.); and also by the Wesleyans, pretty widely distributed; by German, French, and Swiss Protestants in the Transvaal and in Basutoland; and by Moravians among the Hottentots: to which may be added the American missions in Natal, and the Norwegian mission in Zululand.

tion embraces, I give the most recent statistics of the Scottish Free Church institution for the Kaffirs of Cape Colony at Lovedale, which Dr. Stewart and his colleagues have for the last fourteen years been developing as a base of operations. He has now gone to found a similar institution at Lake Nyassa, in Eastern Central Africa, a region he visited in the year 1862, in the service of the Free Church, with the view to commencing a mission, which the same adverse circumstances that led to the failure of the Universities' mission at that time delayed till the year before last.*

In the commencement of such missions, the industrial department is necessarily the most prominent. Commencing with this the lowest department, it included, in Lovedale, in the year 1876, wagon-making and blacksmith work, with 18 apprentices; carpenter work, with 26, and cabinetmaking, with 4 apprentices; letterpress printing, 5, and bookbinding, 2 apprentices. In telegraphy, which is managed by senior pupils, 2,974 messages were sent and received, of which 226 were native, against 114 in the previous year. In farming, road making, &c., all the lads were employed for two hours each day. Of the girls, 12 were taught the house work, and the whole 93 learned sewing.

In the educational department there were 267 native male boarders, students and pupils, receiving a good education, commencing with the Kaffir languages, but rising to English as the classical tongue; 34 boarders, children of colonists, and 39 day scholars. In all, there were 560 resident pupils male and female. The number who qualified themselves as teachers, by passing the Government examination, was last year 24, of whom three-fourths were natives.

For that which is the great aim of the institution—

* See Livingstone, *Zambesi and its Tributaries*, p. 213.

religious instruction, provision is made by imparting it during the first half hour in all the classes. In the Church there is a membership of 600, to whom 30 were added during the year. Evangelistic work is carried on in the heathen villages for some distance round, by the students regularly visiting them in parties of six.

There is a college department, in which three years' training are given to those who desire to have a complete European education. In this are also trained those who wish to enter the native pastorate, for whom the provision for the first time of a complete system of theological instruction crowns the edifice.

There are two annual terms, the first being the most largely attended; but the buildings are overcrowded, and large additions are in course of erection.

The annual outlay is about £8,000, but of this £2,182 comes in in fees from natives, and £1,296 from colonists. The Government grant is a considerable help, and the work done is valuable, so that on the whole the Free Church is not taxed above £1,000 a year.

It may be as well to mention that the subject of industrial schools was discussed at the missionary conference at Bloemfontein in the end of October, when the success of the Lovedale institution was attributed by the French missionary, who introduced the subject, to the personal qualities of Dr. Stewart; but the general feeling was that they will generally be found to answer in course of time.

The appreciation of such training—industrial, educational, and religious—by the African race is shown by the remarkable fact that the chiefs and people of the Fingo race of the Transkei independent district raised, of their own accord, a sum of £1,500, and placed it in the hands of Dr. Stewart, with the request

that he would found a similar institution among them, which with a large extension of Lovedale has occupied his attention this year (1876). *

To many it will be felt a matter of far surpassing importance that, at the same time, a deep sense of religious duty pervaded the institution of Lovedale itself, resulting in the profession by many of the pupils and their parents of lifelong devotion to the highest type of Christian life. It may be further noted that, on a call being made upon them for their assistance in carrying on the work of the new mission in the interior, fourteen volunteered, and of these six have been selected to be the native contingent at Livingstonia.

This new mission or settlement, which has a singular resemblance to those which were planted on our own shores by St. Columba and other missionaries from Ireland now twelve centuries ago, includes in its members, in addition to these natives, a carpenter, two engineers and blacksmiths, and an assistant, two agricultur-

* Mr. Brownlee, the able Secretary for Native Affairs of the Cape Government, in the Bluebook for 1875 says—"The great body of the people in this country are at present sunk in the lowest degradation and barbarism. . . . Notwithstanding this degradation there is a strong desire manifested for education, and this desire we shall soon be able to meet by appropriating as much of the revenue of this country as may be required. The Bishop of St. John's is about instituting a large educational establishment; the Wesleyans are also moving in this direction; and on Dr. Stewart's return to Africa, he will commence operations with his institution in the Transkei, for which £1,500 has already been contributed by the Fingos; and there is every reason to believe that another appeal to them would double this amount.

"Beside these principal institutions, numerous smaller schools will soon be scattered over the country. . . . Almost all of them are conducted by native teachers; and thus we have a powerful and ever-increasing native agency, spreading abroad knowledge and civilization, and forming a direct link of sympathy between ourselves and their countrymen."

ists, a weaver, and a seaman. The superintendence is under Dr. Stewart, at once a clergyman and a medical man, who has with him Dr. Black, who is also an ordained medical man. Of these, five members of the Free Church, with one member each of the Established and United Presbyterian branches of our Scottish Church, were, in 1875, carried to their destination at Cape Maclear, at the southern end of Nyassa, by that admirable pioneer missionary Mr. E. D. Young, of the Royal Navy, and settled, with the full concurrence of the native chief of the district, at the mouth of a fertile valley, with anchorage for small vessels before an island opposite. That which gives much additional importance to this first settlement is the successful conveyance to and launching on the lake of a steamer of about 50 feet in length, which has proved capable of navigating what may be characterized as a stormy inland sea. This steamer, named the Ilala, was built of steel plates, and fastened in such a way that it could be taken down into portions, which were severally not too heavy to be carried by the natives on their shoulders. The success of Mr. Young, who had also been with Livingstone at Lake Nyassa, in organizing a corps of seven hundred natives for this purpose, and conveying the vessel to its destination without the loss of any part, over 70 miles of rough porterage, past the rapids of the Shiré, was a service, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. This successful operation gives command to the mission party of the lake, which is found to extend to a length of 350 miles, 100 miles longer than had been supposed till the first circumnavigation disclosed a broad sheet of water extending to the latitude of about 9 deg. south, which is nearly that of the south end of Tanganika. There is thus opened to missionary enterprise a coast region extending 800

miles, besides 100 miles of river navigation down to the rapids.*

On the east coast of Africa a base of operations has had the attention of the churches for at least thirty years, and the published travels of Krapf and Rebmann of the Church Missionary Society, and New of the Wesleyan Mission at Ribe, have testified to the ability of the men who devoted themselves to missionary work in the region of Mombas and Zanzibar. They were not so successful in making a wide impression on the native races as the South African missionaries, having the adverse influence of the slave trade, and being without the moral support of British rule. Latterly an important work, based upon industrial training, has been done among the slaves liberated by the intervention of British ships of war, and several hundreds are being prepared, in the institutions of the Church and other missionary societies, to form Christian colonies in the district from which they were originally stolen. The Universities Mission has just planted a colony of this kind at Masisi, 120 miles inland from Lindy.

* Missionary work is not carried on without large expenditure on the part of those in the home country who maintain it.

The venerable Convener of the Foreign Committee of the Scottish Free Church informed the writer that to the Lovedale Institution they grant £1,000 a year, and that the recent extension of the buildings cost them £3,000 and private subscribers as much more. For the new Fingo Institution they supply an ordained missionary and teachers, besides having granted £1,500 for the buildings. For Livingstonia they have had provided a fund of £13,500, and the noble family of Aberdeen have placed two-thirds as much at their disposal for the Gordon Memorial Mission to the Zulus of Natal.

The Church Missionary Society recently announced their having received donations amounting to £12,000 for their new mission at Lake Victoria-Nyanza; and the London Missionary Society a fund of £12,000 on their undertaking the Lake Tanganika Mission. The Scottish Established Church also announce having raised £4,800 for their Nyassa Mission. See Reports published during 1876.

I close this notice of what is already known to have been accomplished, by some remarks as to what is in progress. The party of the Scottish Established Church, with the second party of the Free Church, have now, February, 1877, settled, the first near Magomero, at a place to be named Blantyre, the other at Livingstonia, with the view of extending northward along the lake from that point. The London Missionary Society, representing chiefly the Congregational churches of England and Scotland, has in progress the arrangements for a mission at Ujiji on Lake Tanganika. In connection with this an attempt, so far successful, is being made to substitute bullock wagons for the usual system of porterage, diminishing the cost of transit by one-half. They send also a steamer in sections, to be launched on the lake in the course of this year. Funds have also been obtained, and two parties have been sent to plant missions of similar character in Uganda, north of Lake Victoria-Nyanza, and at Rumanika's town by the Church Missionary Society, which has been occupying the coast at Mombas.* The region of the lakes has thus been, or is likely soon to be, occupied in an effective manner by agencies, from which good results may be looked for in respect of industrial, educational, and religious training.†

* Our government has recently made enquiries of the Khedive, as to whether he intends to annex the independent states to which these church missions have been sent. As the countries round Lake Victoria-Nyanza were discovered by Speke and Grant, proceeding from the east-coast; as the occupation of that large lake by the Egyptians, would mean the drawing of the slave trade, which we are shutting out from the east-coast, down to the Nile; and as Abyssinia, which learned to respect both our strength and our forbearance in the Abyssinian war, lies close to the line of Egyptian communications, and could powerfully second our anti-slavery policy; we may very well require that the answer be in the negative.

† "Our mission is to elevate and enlighten them (the natives of South Africa), and to raise them in the scale of civilization. . .

The missions do not engage in commerce, but are looking anxiously for some development in that direction, which brings me to the second part of this paper. A considerable difficulty presents itself in respect of the transit duties, which the Portuguese levy on imports by the Zambezi, so as to be prohibitive of traffic. How far they are entitled to do this may well be disputed, because the southern bank of the Zambezi up to the point where the Shiré joins it on the north, and farther, is occupied by a perfectly independent tribe of Zulus, who have even been accustomed to receive tribute from the Portuguese at Senna. Our government have taken a decided position in not acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Portuguese over the north bank of the Congo, and it is hoped they may be equally decided here. Pending the settlement of this matter, a porterage route to the nearest point on the coast within Zanzibar territory would be of great importance. The distance would be, at least, 350 miles; but judging from the fact of the services of the 700 natives who carried the steamer having been secured at the rate of six yards of calico each, it would seem to be possible to effect this transport at a cost that would not be prohibitive. As the country is almost wholly depopulated by the slave trade, and the disorganization that has ensued, there would require to be established stations which would form new centres of

This great work is being accomplished by the missionaries, a class of men whose labours, disinterested and self-denying, are even now not fully understood or appreciated. Through our magistrates and agents among the natives, we endeavour to attach them to us by a just and righteous administration; we contribute largely to the advancement of education; but the missionaries are the agency by which the people are enlightened and educated."—Mr. Brownlee, Secretary for Native Affairs of the Cape Government, in Bluebook for 1875.

W. & A. K. Johnston. Edinburgh.

population. If these were arranged at the distances of 70 or 80 miles from each other, it would save the carriage of more than eight or ten days' provisions at a time. With regard to the productions of the Nyassa region, ivory, india-rubber, and gum copal, cotton and sugar, coffee and tobacco have been mentioned; but a full statement with respect to this cannot be made till further reports are received from the Mission party. There seems no doubt that reasonable facilities for trade, added to other civilizing agencies, would produce satisfactory results. Around the Cape Colony the natives, mostly cognate to the Eastern Central Africans, purchase commercial articles to the amount of £400,000, and produce them to the value of £750,000 a year;* those about Natal about one-fourth as much.

The trade of the east coast is also considerable. During 1875, the steam companies alone had on freight as exports from the Zanzibar ports, of cloves, pepper, copal, &c., 2,143 tons, valued at £75,276, also 213 tons ivory, valued at £264,527, and £4,841 in specie—and as imports 3,321 tons weight, of which a considerable proportion was cotton goods, and £89,062 in specie.

There is one question deserving consideration—whether, in the event of the slave trade being stopped, the Arab and other merchants might be expected to carry on trade under improved conditions? This question seems to be answered in the affirmative by those most competent to judge. If we open up easy modes of transit, and remove harassing restrictions, we may expect that self-interest will prompt them to make use of them. We shall also thus avoid trade jealousies, while by proper arrangements on the coast, we may secure wholesale markets.

The third point to be treated deals especially with the

* Handbook, 1875, by J. Noble, late Clerk to Cape Legislature, p. 231.

question of the abolition of the slave trade. Recently large caravans of slaves passed across the ferries, or to the south of the Lake Nyassa, to the number, it is estimated, of 20,000 slaves per annum—representing a loss of population to Interior Africa of probably not less than 100,000. That these should pass the British flag flying from the mission steamer, or within a few miles of the settlement, is painful. His own people are no longer openly sold by the neighbouring chief, and there has been an instance of a slave unable to keep up with the rest of the slave-gang being directed to the mission instead of being killed. It is probable that, by the prevalence of ameliorating influences on the population generally, some improvement in respect of slavery might be gradually effected. There seems no reason however why our Government, which uses strong measures on the ocean, should stop short at the inland waters.

Since the first edition of this pamphlet was prepared, the slave trade in Zanzibar territory has received a serious check by its having been rendered illegal by the proclamation of his Highness the Seyyed. This, with the influence of the Europeans at Livingstonia, has done much to abolish the traffic at the ferries of Nyassa.

We have also treaties with Portugal for the suppression of the slave trade, and for the cessation of slave-holding in her dominions; and it is matter of great satisfaction that she has anticipated all action of this kind by declaring that she now permits no one to hold a slave in her possessions wheresoever situated, which, we believe, the authorities at Lisbon will carry out to the extent of their power, unfortunately rather limited.

Irrespective of the slave trade, this region has been for forty years past very much under the law of the survival of the idlest and most unruly, certainly not of the most useful inhabitants. The aboriginal races of

negroes, whom Livingstone found on his first journeys smelting iron to make hoes, growing and weaving cotton, tilling the ground, and fishing in the lake, have in great measure given place to the Mazitu, north and west of the lake, whose chief occupation seems to be preying on their industrious neighbours. The Manganja, among whom the Universities Mission made their unfortunate attempt at a settlement, are now reduced to a small remnant; and the skeletons of great numbers are seen lying beside ruined villages on the banks of the lake. On the bank of the lower Shiré the remnant of another race have come among them—the Makololo, whom Livingstone found on the Upper Zambezi. This tribe, from among whom he obtained his faithful allies and indefatigable assistants, was recently almost exterminated in the savage wars of the interior.

In other parts of the country the unfair advantage afforded by the possession of guns by one side only, has given a fearful impetus to the desolation of the newly-discovered regions by quelling the independence of the natives. The destruction of the industrious race is going on to such an extent that unless there be some effective intervention soon, this continent may degenerate to the condition of aboriginal Australia, and there may be no one producing anything with which to trade.

The rabble of Arabs, half castes, and slaves, who with 2,000 guns are massacring the people of Manyuema and the other Ethiopian races, could not, man for man, cope with the races they are destroying. If an expedition to disarm them could be sent up, the whole condition of things would be reversed. Even if 1,000 rifles were put into the hands of the natives, they would right themselves. Whether, if the country east of the great lakes were properly settled, some expedition might not be organized

from the advanced basis this would afford, which would control the country westward, is an important question, well-fitted to stimulate to energetic prosecution of our advance from the coast.

But it is difficult to make much real progress in abolishing the slave trade, or in repressing the prevailing anarchy, without comprehensive arrangements. When we shut up the Zanzibar coast, so that there is no inducement to take slaves thither, there is the probability that the slave wars will go on as before, but that the slaves will be marched in another direction.

Already a new slave trade seems to be getting established west of Lake Nyassa, where the Mazitu, who were not accustomed to sell slaves, have begun to supply the half-caste traders with victims for the Kaffir races south of the Zambezi to the westward.

We believe one good remedy would be to place steamers like the *Ilala* upon the lakes and upon the Zambezi and Congo systems of river navigation. They might in many cases be of larger size, and a few trained men on board of them might act as a police upon occasion, while they would be ordinarily occupied in trade. To effect this a large company with considerable powers might be desirable. But we are not without hope that, even without this, by occupying one section of the country after another with colonies of Christian natives superintended by Europeans, with such means of rapid communication as we have indicated, communities might be formed capable of defending themselves, and of checking disorders over considerable tracts of country.

REMARKS ON MATTERS CONNECTED WITH THE APPROACH BY THE ZAMBEZI TO NYASSA, REQUIRING THE ATTENTION OF GOVERNMENT.

When the Scottish missions proceeded to occupy the Shiré Valley and Lake Nyassa, arrangements were proposed that their communications should be kept up by their employing vessels to enter the Kongone or Luabo mouths of the Zambezi from the ocean, and by smaller vessels on the rivers to connect that navigation with that of the steamer placed on Lake Nyassa. The original discovery and navigation of these river communications by agents of the British Government seems clearly made out in Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*, pp. 640 and 665, *Zambezi*, pp. 16, 91. The only exception is about 30 miles of the Zambezi navigation from Mazaro to the entrance of the Shiré, which is also part of the line of water communication between the Portuguese settlements of Quillimane, Mazaro, Senna, and Tette.

The carrying out of this intention was deferred in consequence of the receipt of a letter from Senhor Zagury, intimating that he had had conceded to him by the Portuguese Government the exclusive right of steam navigation between Quillimane, the Luabo mouth of the Zambezi, and Tette. The missions have since used the Portuguese approach by the Quillimane river, which connects itself by a porterage of six miles with the Zambezi at Mazaro. That this concession of the Portuguese Government would have been, if carried out, an invasion of British rights hardly admits of doubt, although it was not the part of the Mission to contest the matter. But the concession was probably hastily granted, when the passage of the British steamer Ilala attracted attention, with the view of keeping the question open, and it is understood

to be now withdrawn. The Portuguese settlements nearest to these mouths of the Zambezi are Quillimane, 80 miles north, and Mazaro, 70 miles inland. To connect these by the Zambezi doubles the distance between them, and the proposal could only have had the object we have indicated.

The next question that presented itself regarded transit duties, which did not arise in connection with what we may call the British line of communication, but in consequence of the second party having gone round by and stopped at the Portuguese settlement of Quillimane. The duty of 26 per cent, which was charged by the local officers on both mission and trade goods, has been returned, and the question is understood to be limited to a proposition to charge in future a transit duty of moderate amount.

The Portuguese route from Quillimane to Tette above mentioned, as we have said, coincides for 30 miles with the new route from the mouth of the Zambezi to Nyassa, but the Portuguese are very much in the position of a power that has been withdrawing from it, which came about in this way.

The high price of slaves in Brazil, 40 years ago, induced a pretty general sale of the agricultural population connected with their settlements, destroying both their defensive power and their revenues. The Landeens, part of the great Abantu or Zulu Kaffir race, which now occupies most of Eastern Africa from the Cape to within five degrees of the equator, have gradually, in the last 30 years, driven them from the south bank of the river. The town of Senna is secured by the payment to the Landeens of an annual tribute or land-tax, enforced in case of refusal by occupation and slaughter of the inhabitants. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*, p. 658; *Zambezi*, p. 152; Fritsch, *Eing. Sud. Africas*, p. 494. The

Livingstone Search Expedition found the inhabitants, in 1867, living on the islands of the Zambezi, in consequence of 600 persons having been killed the previous year on account of this and other provocations. The party in the Ilala also found that, in November, 1874, the Landeens had occupied Mazaro, on the north bank, with a slaughter of 200 people, when enforcing the payment of their land-tax there. As they also levy dues on the river, and the Portuguese Government has not seen its way during thirty years to prevent their thus treating the whites as a conquered tribe, it would appear to be necessary to consider the position of this race as well as that of the Portuguese in any settlement. The concession of transit duties might be made to the Portuguese on condition of the river from Mazaro to the Shiré being kept open, a task which, judging from British experience of the Kaffirs in South Africa, may involve difficulty and expense. With the Landeens between the mouth of the Zambezi and Mazaro we presume we must deal ourselves.

Another question of importance has just been brought up by a message sent by a Portuguese named Ferrao to the Makololo chief who occupies the country towards the cataracts of the Shiré. The message was sent by means of Dr. Lawes of the Livingstonia Mission, and was to the effect of stating that the chief was located upon Ferrao's land, and must clear out, which brings up the question, what right Ferrao has to land on the Shiré at all, even to that which he now occupies at the mouth of the river.

After Livingstone had for the first time navigated the Shiré and Nyassa, he proceeded for two years up the Zambezi. On his return he found that a half-caste named Mariano who had been liberated from prison at Mozambique, had built a stockade at the mouth of the Shiré, entered the newly discovered region with guns,

and sent many of the inhabitants in chains to Quillimane to supply labour to Reunion, so that with slave-raids, war, and consequent famine, a most populous region had been turned into a desert. Livingstone, *Zambezi*, pp. 450, 473.

After our Government withdrew this expedition, the remnant of the inhabitants gathered under the chieftainship of the Makololo, who had formed part of the expedition, but whom Livingstone left behind. Having been Livingstone's men, they are practically our own people, send their sons to the Livingstonia Institution, and accept our civilization, both they and their subjects having heartily welcomed our return in 1875. Being of Kaffir race, and living in stockaded villages, they are effective governors, and have so far saved the valley from being swept a second time by the Mazitu, Mr. E. D. Young having been able to bring these dreaded warriors to terms with them.

In these circumstances it is somewhat strange to hear of a summons of the kind described coming from what we believe to be the *ci-devant* Mariano's stockade. Mariano, although there seems too much reason to think that he and his coadjutors were secretly countenanced by some of the officials, was in the eyes of the Portuguese law a rebel engaged in enterprises inconsistent with treaties between Portugal and this country.

Any claim by Ferrao is foreclosed by our exploration of the country, and the settlement of its ancient inhabitants under the Makololo; for it will hardly be pretended that Mariano's slave raids in the country during our temporary absence effected a transfer of it. The object of Senhor Ferrao may possibly be to escape the exactions of the Landeens, to which he is exposed on his present location, but it is not at all improbable that there is an attempt at embarrassment contrived by some of the officials,

which would not be countenanced by the home Government of Portugal. In any case it shows the importance of a distinct declaration on these subjects on the part of the two Governments so that complications may be avoided. This is all the more necessary, because the Portuguese settlements are convict settlements not very strictly controlled.

The actual position is that Senhor Ferrao has a stockade three miles up the Shiré on the left bank, and has been hitherto understood to claim the land on that side for a distance of 30 miles; the boundary being a marsh called Nyanga Pangono, which becomes an extensive sheet of water in time of flood, and might be reckoned the limit of Portuguese jurisdiction.

Another point deserving consideration is the possibility of some check being put upon the introduction of ardent spirits. The tariff for the province of Mozambique and the concession to Zagury, both of which followed immediately on the establishment of the mission, are fitted to give countenance to the idea that the Portuguese Government are disposed to give special encouragement to this traffic; and as the Landeens show indisposition to accept such wares from the Portuguese, an outlet among the races to whom our missions are sent would be convenient for them, and there has been a rumour of this being carried out by concessions of exclusive navigation of the Shiré by steamers, that French houses may take up the trade of Lake Nyassa. (*See Appendix.*)

For this reason, and also because the laws of Portugal, while tolerant of the religious services of foreigners, do not permit any Portuguese subject to hold church services other than those of the Church of Rome, it is expedient that the missions should know who are and who are not to be reckoned Portuguese subjects; and it is desirable

that this should be made clear before expenses are incurred for permanent buildings in the country between the mouth of the Shiré and the cataracts, or in the education of native preachers.

There is no question that the high tariffs and the uncertainties regarding rights of navigation during the last two years have been peculiarly unfortunate in the state of the country. The establishment of the missions, the repression of the slave trade by Zanzibar, and the incipient relations with the Mazitu, should all have been supported by a free introduction of legitimate trade. The slave trade, which was actually all but stopped for a twelvemonth, has been regaining vigour; and it is now quite essential that the British Government should repress it on the inland waters of Nyassa, to prevent our whole policy in this direction from being stultified.

The settlement of the questions we have indicated would probably be followed by action on the part of the mercantile community either by way of the Zambezi or through Zanzibar territory, as the decisions arrived at might render most expedient, which would naturally supersede the irregular action of the slave trade in supplying the wants of the natives of Nyassa, a result not likely to be obtained under the state of uncertainty at present existing as to what can and what cannot be safely undertaken.*

* At the instance of the Livingstonia Mission, several gentlemen sent some goods with Mr. Cotterill last year, to enable him to make a pioneering expedition; but in the text we refer to the opening up of communications by merchants experienced in African trade.

APPENDIX.

DUTIES and DUES chargeable on Merchandise in the province of Mozambique, and *approximate* RATES OF FREIGHT to Tete by proposed Portuguese Steamship Company.

I.—IMPORTS.

	℔	DUTIES. £	s	d	DUES.	Freight to Tete. £	s	d
Cotton, unbleached, ...	Cwt.	1	9	5	3% ad val. on Invoice Cost and 10% added.	0	17	0
Do., prints, ordinary,	,,	2	9	10		do.		
Do., do., fine, ...	,,	3	12	5		do.		
Do., dyed in twist, or.,	,,	2	0	9		do.		
Do., do., fine,	,,	2	14	4		do.		
Do., do., twilled,	,,	2	18	10		do.		
Iron bars, plates, sheets,	,,	0	2	3		do.		
Do. nails, ...	,,	0	4	6		do.		
Tea, ...	,,	1	14	0		do.		
Gunpowder, ...	,,	0	11	3		1	7	2
Muskets, ...	Each	0	2	$1\frac{5}{8}$				
Ale, cider, ...	Gal.	0	0	$4\frac{7}{8}$		36s. per Puncheon, equal to 4s. per cwt.		
Dist. liquors (except Rum),	,,	0	1	$2\frac{9}{16}$				
Rum, ...	,,	0	0	$10\frac{13}{16}$				
Cotton, unbleached, Indian, ...	Cwt.	1	0	3	Obras publicas.	0	17	0
Do. do. of "Carvi & Cadi,"	,,	0	13	7		do.		
Do. dyed in piece, ordinary blue European,	,,	2	12	1		do.		
Do. do. Indian, ...	,,	1	9	5		do.		
Do. do. of "Cadi,"	,,	0	18	1		do.		

II.—EXPORTS.

	℔	Duties.	Dues.	Freight from Tete to Quillimane.
Coffee, ...	Cwt.	3% ad val. (Invce 10%)	1% ad val. on Invoice Cost + 10% added	£0 10 7
Hides, ...	,,	3% ad val.		0 13 7
Ivory, large, ...	,,	£1 16 3		1 7 2
Do., middling, ...	,,	1 4 11		do.
Do., small, ...	,,	1 2 8		do.
Oil, ...	Pipe	3% ad val.		1 15 6
Wax, ...	Cwt.	0 4 6		0 13 7
Hippopotamus— Teeth (of two Kilos or more), ...	,,	1 4 11		1 7 2
Do., ordinary, ...	,,	0 3 5		do.

On miscellaneous articles the import duty is 6 per cent, and the export duty 3 per cent *ad valorem*. Thirty per cent of the above duties on imports are remitted when the goods are imported in Portuguese vessels.

These abstracts were furnished by J. W. Moir, Esq., Edinburgh, now engaged in the opening up of a trade route to Nyassa from the Zanzibar coast.

NOTES

ON

THE COUNTRY BETWEEN KILWA AND THE SOUTHERN END OF LAKE TANGANIKA.

In the spring of 1874, the question of a route from Lake Nyassa to the coast north of Cape Delgado was carefully considered, before the subject of a mission to that lake was seriously entertained. The possibility of an alternate route to the Zanzibar coast was felt to be an important element in the decision to undertake a settlement approached through Portuguese territory.

The general idea of the system, on which a route into Zanzibar territory, and the opening up of mercantile routes generally, might be carried out, was also the subject of consideration. The general conclusion was that, while the Missions were working separately under their respective mission boards, the laymen of the various churches might conveniently form one organization for such secular work.

Subsequently, when the circumnavigation of Lake Nyassa in the Livingstonia Mission Steamer showed that one route would probably take up the traffic of both lakes, it occurred to the writer, in preparing the map for the illustration of the subject of the civilization of South-

Eastern Africa, at the meeting of the British Association, that this was probably the best route to Central Africa —an opinion confirmed after perusal of the description of the part of the route next the sea-coast explored by the German traveller Von der Decken.

A glance at the map of Africa is sufficient to show the important position of the route of which we propose to speak. It is the shortest land-route to the lake district, about 370 miles in direct length, and commanding on the two Lakes Nyassa and Tanganika alone coast-lines of nearly 2,000 miles in extent, when the proposed road, 120 miles long, is made to connect them. On the sea-coast it communicates with excellent ports, the want of which is the great defect of the route from Zanzibar to Ujiji, and it is, as will be seen, by far the most important line to secure as a cordon to settle the country. There seems also no established practice of exacting hongo, or black mail, which every petty chief seems to practice on the northern route.

As the time of year when explorations can be made to advantage in this part of Africa commences in May, the writer has felt that no time should be lost in placing such information as he has been able to collect, with the views above described, before those who are interested in the subject.

CHAPTER I.

EASTERN AFRICA 9° SOUTH IN 1860.

COMMENCING from the east coast, there is a very full description of the route for the first 150 miles published in German, of which we have thought it worth while to present a full summary.

> JOURNEY of the Traveller BARON CARL CLAUS VON DER DECKEN from Kilwa Kissewani to Mesule—the expedition having extended over about 40 days—starting on the 23rd November, 1860, and arriving at Kilwa, on their return, on the 1st January, 1861. (See large Map.)

The journey of Von der Decken from Kilwa to Mesule is the only source from which we possess authentic information of the region traversed by him. Mesule being on the route to the Lake Nyassa, we are aided by this journey in forming some idea of the practicability of establishing a line of communication betwixt Kilwa and that great inland sea.

Among the numerous ports on this seaboard, there are two Kilwas—Kilwa Kissewani, and Kilwa Kibendsche—the former situated on an island close to the coast, the other, in a small bay on the mainland, some 14 miles farther north. Kilwa Kibendsche is at present by far the larger place, having some 15,000 inhabitants. Kilwa Kissewani, on the other hand, although the older city, and in its early flourishing days numbering, it is said, some 300 mosques, now consists, the editor of Von der Decken's travels informs us, "of a number of huts, dominated by at most ten stone-built inhabited houses."

Our traveller's point of departure was Kilwa Kissewani, where he arrived on the 7th October, 1860, but in consequence of vexatious delays, incidental to African travel, he did not actually leave for the interior till the 23rd November following.

The caravan of Von der Decken "consisted, besides the Baron, his European servant Koralli, and several coloured servants, of nineteen soldiers, and some forty bearers, who were to transport some 3,000 yards cotton cloth, a quantity of cotton handkerchiefs, a hundredweight and a half of glass pearls, a hundredweight brass wire, mirrors, knives, flints, tobacco, powder, etc." Von der Decken had also some donkeys with him, which were of great service, "Almost more," we are told, "than we Europeans, these were everywhere an object of wonder. The possibility of the advance of such animals appeared to the natives something quite unheard of." There is no mention made of the tsetse fly which Livingstone found attacking the donkeys he had with him at Lake Tanganika. It is quite probable thus that oxen may be safely employed on this route, as on that to the north explored by the Rev. Roger Price. Indeed, if, as is supposed, the tsetse fly disappears with the buffalo, this is a matter of certainty.

One disadvantage, we may notice, from which our traveller suffered, might have been avoided. Without having experienced it, one can scarcely realize how much, in tropical countries, the comfort of the traveller depends on the season selected. Von der Decken was travelling in the rainy month of December. On the east coast of Africa, south of the Line, the pleasant months to travel in are from July to November.

"Rather remarkably," it is observed, "few wild animals were seen; perhaps because the lively caravan route is avoided by these animals, or that the vigorous cultivation of the land drives them to remoter regions." Only on rare occasions were large antelopes seen. Of smaller mammalia there was an animal like the squirrel, and another species having affinity to it, and the rat. Among birds the multitude of doves is especially remarkable; besides these the traveller

speaks of parrots and night-swallows. As domestic animals the natives possess fowls, goats, sheep, and cows." An incidental and interesting proof of the prosperity of the inhabitants is that "they sell no slaves, not even at the highest prices." "The slave trade is not in circumstances to offer a price equivalent to the value of their labour." The greatest number of the slaves who reach Kilwa come from regions further inland, and south. "As may be readily supposed, the culture of the soil is there very incomplete." "One may see from this, that the best means to root out the slave trade is to improve agriculture."

In reference to what Von der Decken says of plentifulness of provisions, this does not by any means imply that he could readily obtain them. On the contrary, from the niggardliness of some, the fears of others, and the hostility of not a few, they were often hard to get. "On the whole, however, Decken had less to complain of the inhospitality of the inhabitants than of the hard-heartedness of the depraved Arabs on the coast, which exceeded all description." There were other disagreeable circumstances usually incidental to African travellers—such as the irritating delays, the worry occasioned by the grumbling of the soldiers and porters, the ultimate refusal of the Kilangozi, or official guide, to go forward. The unfortunate issue of the last circumstance was, that Von der Decken was obliged, greatly against his will, to stop short at Mesule. "Another decision was impossible," he says; "I would not, with the unreliableness of my twenty soldiers, place myself in the power of the caravan approaching, consisting of more than 1,500 men, and expose myself thus to the fate of Roscher." All these unpleasant features of the journey, as well as its fatigues and exposures, seem to have depressed our traveller; and on his return to Kilwa induced a fever, from which he only slowly recovered.

But, contenting ourselves with these general observations on the journey, we shall best bring before those interested in the subject the details of the route followed by marking the itinerary of the traveller, the individual stations he visits, and the local remarks he offers. An observation of these may indicate to us where stations may be chosen on this route to

facilitate the journey of the traveller to Lake Nyassa. Decken's observations, the editor of his travels tells us, were careful. "He fixed his route by observations of the longitude and latitude, and betwixt the principal points, by indicating the direction of the way, and by measurements of the pedometer. He marked also carefully the rise of the land." We have thus, as far as Mesule, reliable evidence on which to rest our conclusions.

On the morning of the 23rd November, 1860, the journey from Kilwa began. "The first day's march was twelve sea miles in a straight direction. The way led first through a marshy, later through a hilly district, without shade." Half way the caravan had to rest some time on account of the number fatigued, only at nightfall the stronger reached Mukapunda, while the half of the bearers arrived late at night. "The Shamba of Abdallah here is well built, and of considerable size, but suffers from one evil—it wants water, at least for so great a number as Decken had with him. One must fetch what is needed from some two and a half miles distance in tubs."

Mnasi, the next station—translated into English, the Cocoa Palm—is a poor resting-place. Its name it derives from three palm trees, which, to a certain extent, are the marked feature of the Shamba. Here also there is a want of water. There are several springs, but together they yield daily only a few buckets-full.

"On the 29th November we reached Mpuema after a fifteen hours' march. The way led through a thickly-wooded plateau, whose firm red soil showed numerous tracks, especially of zebras and cloven-footed animals. An indescribable weariness and exhaustion which came upon me on the way caused me to fear that an illness was coming to an outbreak with me. On the following day I felt a little better, but dare not in the heat of the day continue the march, waiting rather till the evening."

"At midnight we started, and wandered through a wood which seemed as if it would never end, until at 8 A.M. we reached Namisu."

"The next march on 2nd December was in part accom-

plished during the night. Our way led us through a gently ascending plain betwixt isolated hills, which struck me by their bold forms. I climbed one of them, Kilole, lying close to the way. It consists of mighty masses of basalt heaped up. Amongst a heap I marked here and there pieces of quartz, and of heavy grey iron-stone. A wide view, full of diversity, especially toward the west, toward the Nandanga Mountains, which are of a similar structure, repaid me richly the trouble of the ascent. In the course of the day we passed several hills of similar structure, formed of blocks of rock and some veins of basalt (*Basaltstreifen*) stretching from north to south. Numerous clefts in the earth (*Erdrissen*) made the last part of our way uncommonly difficult, and compelled us to make many detours. The land was excellently cultivated, and thickly peopled. Wherever we came we excited the greatest surprise, for the people had never seen a Msungu (European gentleman). Our asses more than ourselves were an object of surprise."

"Nahigongo, our resting-place to-day, cannot well be indicated by the name of village or town. It is rather, like most African places, only the nucleus of a population, consisting of innumerable huts, in the midst of plantations of Mtama or Kaffir corn, stretching about a mile in length [probably the German mile is meant, which is four of our English]. During the two days of our stay at Nahigongo, I made some excursions in the mountains lying to the south. All showed the same formation as that of Kilole; and as I surveyed with a telescope the wide plateau from one of them, I observed other similar basalt masses of wonderfully indented form, which also rose ruggedly and steeply from the level.

"The obtaining of provisions here occasioned tedious difficulties—the inhabitants of Nahigongo would at no price sell their provisions. A hunting excursion which I undertook myself was without results, but one of the Beloods (soldiers) shot a buffalo-antelope of the size of an ox. But what could even a hundred-weight of flesh avail with so many hungry Africans?"

"With the 4th December began another period of the year—the season of rain. Already on the preceding days there had predominated an intolerable sultriness. Every evening there

towered dark clouds, harbingers of coming rain. At times the rolling of distant thunder reached our ears. Every one rejoiced in the hope of the coolness and freshness which the approaching storm would bring. Late in the evening of the same day the clouds, borne by the north-east monsoon, which was just beginning, reached our neighbourhood, and at midnight the storm broke loose. It howled and whistled through the poor huts, chased sand and stones into the deepest corners, and waked in a trice even those caught in deepest sleep. With vehement lightning and thunder, the weather at last discharged itself, not at all by the breaking up of the clouds, as I had expected, but only by a heavy rain lasting till morning."

"From the number of huts which are met with everywhere we must conclude that the district is densely peopled; to our surprise, however, we were not able to see the owners. They had, as we afterwards learned, fled before us, as some Arabs from Kilwa had told them that white men would come leading trained lions to destroy all the blacks."

"Our next resting-place was Lukose, which we found almost deserted of people; the chief left behind was friendly, and when he was assured of our harmlessness, was sensible enough to despatch a messenger to the mountains, and to recall the villagers hidden there." In the evening the travellers heard their music. "The instrument was like a dulcimer—eight staves of wood, answering to the eight notes of the octave, rest on their ends on two straw ropes. Two people played on this, using both hands, not without skill. The discovery of such an instrument, and the proof it affords of an acquaintance with musical laws which so long remained strange to the ancient Greeks, is an honour to the people. It is not to be supposed that this class of music became known to them from abroad, as the inhabitants of the coast are behind them in this respect in cleverness and knowledge."

"On 6th December we proceeded, and crossed the so-called Muira river. We made our camp for the night in the village of the same name."

"The way through the low marshy land was tedious and difficult, the air moist and sultry. At four *o'clock* P.M. we reached Merui, a large village, if one may so name huts scattered

amongst out-stretching plantations. The greater part of the inhabitants consist of Wagindo, who are known by this, that they indent on their arms and breasts the most remarkable figures, as of men, fish, birds, and the like, and sharply file away their incisor teeth to beautify their faces. A particular class of people trained to it carries on this profitable business of beautifying as a trade. There are also some of the Wahiao in Merui. These are marked by their smooth unadorned skin, while they file their teeth as the others." Neither of these tribes, we may observe in passing, are slave-traders.

"Again I had the same need to obtain provisions. The people are so obstinate that one can scarcely trade with them. Ten times they measure the cloth to be exchanged, and desire, not seldom before they have even brought or shown their wares, the corresponding equivalent. Along with this, they fixed extremely high prices. They appeared to know nothing of less worth than a Mgono—an ell—14 inches Rhenish, and they asked this price for a fowl, and also for two eggs."

On the 12th December "we had a bad march to Kiangara from six o'clock A.M., till four P.M., in ceaseless heavy rain, on ways without a firm bottom, which were frequently almost impassable, through little valleys and clefts filled with water." Koralli, Decken's servant, meanwhile was so ill as to be unable to travel on foot. A litter, however, was made for him, for which six persons were hired, whose "daily pay, besides food, was six arm-lengths of Americano (American cotton cloth) of the value of half a dollar—certainly an extortionately high price."

"On the following day we travelled eight hours farther. The land was still level and monotonous. Forest alternated with a densely peopled, cultivated country. The overflowing wealth of the country in water occasioned us many difficulties. Yesterday we had already crossed the Kiperele, 25 feet broad and two feet deep. To-day the Namitelle and Mihumu detained us long, especially the latter, the banks of which were so deep, that the asses had to be thrust by force into the water, and drawn up again on the opposite side."

"This evening offered to my people a great festivity. A ballad-singer came to the camp and played on a peculiarly

formed instrument—a clean cut box, strung with eight strings. The tones which he was able to draw from his lute sounded by no means disagreeably."

"On the way to Luere, our next point, we had again to traverse several streams—first a stagnant, marshy water, called Kilimatanbo—later the Ruhuhu, a rapid stream of the size of the Kiperele. Close to Luere there was a third slowly-flowing river, tolerably clear in colour, of the same name as the place, which we had to wade through. Luere reckons only two houses, but offers provisions in quantities—flour and fowls are at a moderate price, and a kind of peas of small angular form, in size and taste like our lentils." "Now everything seemed to promise well. We were early on the way on the following day. The bearers and soldiers no longer burdened us with complaints. Koralli felt himself so much stronger that of his own accord he dispensed with his litter. With the exception of some places, the land was thickly peopled and excellently cultivated. Almost everywhere the people sold provisions by the way with a fulness and variety that reminded us of the most favoured coast lands. We were offered goats, fowls, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, meal, sugar-cane, mangoes, and pistachio nuts in plenty, if not quite at moderate prices. If the people made in some measure the traffic more difficult through their persistent efforts to deceive, yet we knew how to attain our end, and luxuriated in superfluity."

"On the next day we reached, at mid-day, Nangungulu, a place lying in a pleasing, richly watered country, betwixt hills and high ranges. A mountain a thousand feet high, the Lukunde, some miles north-west from our encampment, caught my attention in the highest degree, from its striking form—on the one side rising steep, it falls on the other almost perpendicularly down—a mighty heap of ruins, like a monument built up by giant hands and of unhewn blocks. I climbed it; often I despaired of advancing, but each time I found some projecting rock which permitted me to climb; and after an hour and a half of laborious ascent, I reached the top. A wild view opened before my astonished gaze. The Mbaha and Makundue mountains rose on the south, grotesque and rugged, with their jagged horns and points, a mass of

huge cones in every stage of overthrow—here running steeply upwards, there with the point rooted in the ground, not unlike the curious sandstone formations of Saxony and Bohemia."

"I took up my quarters at Mesule, a very rich peninsula, in which bananas, maize, sugar, cotton, rice, potatoes, cocoa-nuts, &c., are cultivated, without ceremony, in the best house of the place, although its possessor, the old Sultan Djemac, was absent. Far from being angry, the friendly man, on his return, presented me with eggs, kassava roots, etc., introduced to me his pretty young son, and did not change his bearing when I remarked to him, that I could not return his gifts, as my "Msigo" had not yet arrived. The inhabitants of the village showed themselves less friendly. They were niggardly as to those provisions which they had in over-abundance, demanded a certain price, but refused to sell when I would pay it, and raised their demands still higher."

It was at Mesule, as we have already stated, that Von der Decken was reluctantly obliged to return. He attributes bad faith to his guide, who gave as his reason the impossibility of advance, because war was raging at Lake Nyassa. The route he followed on his way back was not quite the same, latterly somewhat more to the south, but still in the same district of country.

He visited Luere. "I enjoyed," he says, "the afternoon shooting wild pigeons, and the evening at a musical representation by the inhabitants. The instrument used on this occasion was of another kind from that seen before, and outrivalled in simplicity those in use on the coast. It was a violin, a monochord. By the shortening of the string with the finger the artist knew how to entice a surprising variety of tones from this peculiar instrument."

"We crossed the Ruhuhu at another point—its rocky bed had about as much water as eight days before. On its shore we met a number of the people of Seelem Ben Abdallah; they said that he and Banafumo had not yet left Kilwa. "We slept in the densely-peopled district of Nassoro, which lies betwixt the stations formerly visited by us—Nihilala and Kipindimbe." "Everywhere on our way the road was crowded with people expecting the great caravan coming from the interior." As they

pursued their way they learned that all the inhabitants near them had fled, as in the neighbourhood a fight was going on between the tribes of the Wagindo and Waiao. With careful listening he could, indeed, hear distant firing. Thus our traveller had, before the 28th December, left behind him daily a considerable part of the way," and had reached Namguira through a thickly-peopled district of country. After leaving this the way was, Von der Decken found, difficult "with broad earth-rents and steep descending banks of numerous dry water-beds." The next resting-point our traveller reached was Kunguruha. Here he hoped to obtain provisions, as some of the inhabitants must have seen and known him at Kilwa, only a journey of a day and a half distant. "I deceived myself, not the smallest thing could I obtain without payment, not even after my promise to pay richly on my return into the city those willing to help me." "They had certainly refused me even if I had begged from house to house." "Their hatred of the European or of the Christian went beyond their covetousness. A compassionate soul however I found—the wife of the chief, then absent." On the 31st December Von der Decken left this unfriendly place. On reaching Lungu, an insignificant village, he found the same reception. "His mouth felt dried up after the fatiguing march through the hot plains—the drinking water was bad and briny, but in vain he asked the people to give him the refreshment of one of their numerous cocoa-nuts, scarcely to them of any value." After further fatigues the Baron reached Kilwa at last on the first day of January, 1861. He immediately got possession of his old dwelling—despatched help to Koralli, and his other servants left behind, and betook himself to rest after his weary journey. We have already said that his fatigues induced fever. So soon as he recovered from it he betook himself to the Sultan of Zanzibar, hoping for redress for the wrong done to him, but the Sultan was not at that time in the mood to grant much help to the enterprising traveller.

This interesting narrative gives a very satisfactory account of the country as it was in the end of 1860. The physical features seem to present no difficulty in the

making of a road that might not be reduced to a minimum by the selection of a line varied by a few miles from one or the other of those traversed by Von der Decken. Especially by keeping a little to the north on the line of the ninth parallel, the route would be more direct, and being nearer the water-shed, the small rivers would be passed as mere brooks.

CHAPTER II.

EASTERN AFRICA AT THE PRESENT TIME.

OVER the dense population then living in the country a sad change has however come, and we cannot describe this better than in the words of Bishop Steere in his "Walk to the Nyassa country," published less than a year ago. Bishop Steere, whose learning in African languages is pre-eminent, it will be observed, omits the prefixes, so that Wagindo becomes Gindo, and Waiao, Yao. The Dondes seem to have inhabited the country west of the point reached by Von der Decken.

Old traders say that the road from Kilwa to the Nyassa used to lie entirely through an inhabited country where food of all sorts was fabulously abundant. West of Kilwa lay the Gindos and south of them the Mweras, west of both these the Dondes, and then on the lower Rovuma Matambwes, and on the upper and along the Lake, Yaos. South and east of the Lake, Nyassas, and east of them again the Bisas, who were ardent traders, and used to send down caravans of their own to Kilwa. The great disturbers of this state of things were the Maviti or Mazitu, a Zulu army sent on an unsuccessful expedition, which, instead of returning to be decimated, went north and found a new home round the north end of the Nyassa, whence they plundered and burnt in all directions,

even sending an army against Kilwa itself, and for the time stopping all trade. They were not great slave-dealers, but used to cut off the left hand of such captives as they did not kill. I saw many men thus mutilated.

It is said that during the suspension of trade, some people, called Magwangwara, from near the Lufiji, came to Kilwa, to ask why no cloth now came to them, and being told of the Maviti, promised at once to clear them out of the way, which they did so effectually, that the Maviti are no longer dreaded. But the Gwangwaras, having felt their power, became still worse destroyers than the Maviti had been, and all the more so because they found that slaves were valuable merchandise in the eyes of the Kilwa men. Their custom is to incorporate the more likely of their captives into their own tribes, the rest they offer for sale, and if they cannot get a good price they kill them. The scattered remnants of the Gindos and Dondes were an easy prey, and for a time the Zanzibar market was full of Gindo slaves. The smaller Yao chiefs could offer but little resistance, and though the Gwangwaras have never ventured to cross a large river, or to attack a village in the mountains, they soon found they could easily cross the upper Rovuma in the dry season, and so the country to the south as well as that to the north of the river lay open to them. The poor remains of the Gindos flee backward and forward as they hear of the approach of their dreaded enemies, and the few Dondes left have generally taken to the trade of thieving.

I have mentioned a village on the Rovuma under an exceptional instance of a fighting Gindo, Mpingawandu (stopper of people), who has under him a mixed party of broken men, his chief lieutenant being a Donde, and the best of his fighting men the remnant of the Maviti army, which went to attack Kilwa, and were afraid to return to their own chiefs. I saw in this village several men with their hair worked into a Kafir ring, and with faces of the Zulu type. Mpingawandu says that he is tired of war, and wishes to live peaceably, which he carries into practice by squeezing to the utmost caravans, and bullying his more timid neighbours. The Yaos might easily, if they were united, keep the Gwangwaras from crossing the Rovuma, and though some of the bolder have

beaten them off, as it is said one chief, Kandulu, did this last season (1875), there are many smaller chiefs who can do nothing but flee.

The stoppage of the Kilwa slave trade would take away the motive of these Gwangwara raids, and the existence of a city of Refuge under men bold enough to give them two or three crushing defeats would teach them not to treat their neighbours as cattle to be driven at their will. Badly handled, ill-made flint guns are not much better than their own spears and shields, but a few modern rifles would soon teach them a different lesson. Now, however, strong thieves get gunpowder as the price of slaves, and the peaceable are deprived of their only means of defence.

How far we are yet in time to save a remnant of these industrious races by making at once at Lukose, or some place thereabouts, where the plateau rises to above 1,000 feet, and at Mesule, or some place to the north of it, defensible stations to which they might rally, is one of the important questions which no time should be lost in settling.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRUE POSITION OF THE LAKES, AND ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN THEM.

ACCORDING to the map attached to Livingstone's posthumous journal, and the circumnavigation of Nyassa, as laid down by Mr. Young, we ought, at the distance

of about 120 miles from Mesule, to find the head of Lake Nyassa.*

But, on referring to the map attached to Livingstone's "Zambesi and its Tributaries," which was prepared under his own superintendence, we find that Lake Nyassa trends considerably more to the westward as you proceed north from the foot of the lake to the extent of one and a half points of the compass. In the sketch-map annexed, I have placed the island of Chisamooloo, at the third ferry, in the position assigned by Livingstone. North of that point to the eleventh parallel, if you follow Livingstone's general line, making corrections in detail from Mr. Young's map, you get a result somewhat like that given in the sketch.

For the last hundred and twenty miles some further adjustment of Mr. Young's map seems required by Livingstone's statement, in speaking of a view from a point close to the shore, and at a height of 1,000 feet above the lake. In a note to his map he says, "Looking north from the farthest point reached the mountains are higher than to the south, and seem to rise out of the lake." Mr. Young's map as drawn would indicate that he must have had a clear water horizon northward for 160 miles from where he stood. If from any cause, such as the presence of iron in the Livingstone Mountains, we can suppose an increase of the variation of the compass beyond this point, we can reconcile the contradictions as

* The question here is as to the amount of deviation of the compass, which becomes important when the results of the circumnavigation have to be recorded in the general system of the geography of the country, but which it was less necessary to take into account for the purposes of a local map.

The publication of Commander Cameron's excellent map since our sketch map was prepared, has confirmed the conclusions on this point drawn from Livingstone and Von der Decken.

shown in the sketch. But in order to determine where the head of the lake really lies, we must adduce further evidence.

In the very carefully prepared map which accompanied the publication of Von der Decken's travels, dated 1871, there is laid down a route from Bagamoio, opposite Zanzibar, through Maroro and Ubena, to a place called Irango's chief town (Residenz). Who the traveller was who made this journey in the year 1857 does not appear from the map; but the information conveyed seems definite and precise, and to be confirmed where there is an opportunity of testing it. A short distance westward of this point is outlined a great lake, quite the shape of the northern reach of Nyassa, or perhaps of the trough in the plateau in which it lies, as it would be seen by a spectator approaching from this direction. (See Map.)

It is here proper to notice that I have drawn the sketch-map of the south end of Tanganika, according to the latitude and longitude Livingstone actually observed at Pambete, instead of 25 miles to the westward, as in some maps. Although Livingstone says his head was not right, yet these observations being taken in 1867, when he was but beginning his journey, and with a sea horizon before him, till other observations are made which conclusively disprove them, we must accept them as the only means of settling the positions of points of which we know the distance from this centre through all that region.

When at an Arab station called Chitimbwah, a little south-west of Pambete, Livingstone makes the following observations:—

"The Arabs inform me that between this and the sea, about 200 miles distant, lies the country of the Wasango—called Usango—a fair people like Portuguese, and very friendly

to strangers. The Wasango possess plenty of cattle; their chief is called Meréré. They count this 25 days, while the distance to the sea at Bagamoio is one month and 25 days—say 440 miles. . . . . Meréré goes frequently on marauding expeditions for cattle, and is instigated thereto by his mother."

Again—"The Wasongo seem much like Zulus; they go naked, and have prodigious numbers of cattle, which occupy the same huts with the owners. Oxen two shukahs each; plenty of milk. Meréré is very liberal with his cattle, and gives every one an ox. There is no rice, but maize and maere. Meréré had plenty of ivory when the Arabs first came, but now has none."

Measuring two hundred miles towards the coast from Chitimbwah we find the country called in Von der Decken's map U-ungu to be identical with Livingstone's U-s-ango or U-s-ongo. Taking the remarks formerly quoted from Bishop Steere in connection, it is reasonable to suppose that we have here the Zulu settlement, and that Von der Decken's large lake, though placed thirty miles N.N.W. of the true position, if we accept Mr. Young's latitude, is really meant for the northern reach of Lake Nyassa. Conformed to this adjustment of thirty miles, the sketch-map shows details of native routes, mountain ranges, and rivers, chiefly taken from Von der Decken's map, where confirmed by other sources of information, which are of considerable importance. For the practical purpose in view the position of the lakes may be reckoned sufficiently established.

With regard to the physical aspects of the south-east coast of Lake Tanganika and of the country adjoining, we have a very good idea of it from Livingstone's severe land journey across the lines of denudation close to the lake, and also from Cameron's voyage, and the return journey of Livingstone's boys. We know that from somewhere about what is marked Liemba

Harbour a good port could be selected, and a road carried along the lines of denudation to the plateau. We know that it would pass clear of the mountain range of three or four thousand feet crossed by the boys to the north of this point, and probably dividing the higher plateau from the lower.

The basin of Lake Nyassa, which is of similar origin to Tanganika, we almost certainly know ends like that lake, abruptly in the plateau, although from the hasty observations made from the deck of the steamer, part of the end seems filled up and forms a valley; but the difference of opinion between Mr. Young and Dr. Lawes as to whether the small river ran in or out of the lake must, we think, be settled in favour of the former view. The line would pass north of the Livingstone Mountains to the Zulu or Mazitu settlement, which seems to be on the northern slope of these mountains, where the streams begin to run towards the Lufiji. The fact of native routes passing through this way from Bemba and Chitimbwah to Bagamoio shows that no serious physical obstacles exist to the making of roads.

Between this settlement and Mesule we find the distance to be 200 or 210 miles. We have been informed that this was a trade route in the memory of persons still living at Zanzibar, but disused because the Mazitu permitted no slaves to pass. From all the indications given by the flow of the rivers, which form the headwaters passing south-eastward to the Rovuma there, seems no doubt that the route would be on the watershed of the country between these and the affluents of the Lufiji, and so far as was observed from the hill Lukanda, near Mesule, there seemed there a continuation of a plateau gradually rising to the westward, with isolated rocks or hills scattered over it. Whether this was the great

western route which made Kilwa a city of 300 mosques,* and whether it is suited for the modern requirements of a tramway, which will virtually make the starting point for central Africa the north end of Nyassa, are points which might be very well ascertained this summer.

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGIN AND RECENT HISTORY OF THE MAZITU.

In Livingstone's "Zambezi and its Tributaries," he says that the region from which the Zulu army that settled north of Nyassa originally came was the country behind Sofala and Inhambane, south of the Zambezi, and that they are the same people as those who levy tribute from the Portuguese at Tete and Senna.

As it is of great importance to throw as much light as possible upon the Mazitu, who have never been visited by any known European traveller, and are yet the nearest neighbours of Livingstonia on the north, we give these extracts from the standard work on the natives of South Africa recently published by Dr. Fritsch, premising that the prefix *u'm* corresponds with *ma* or *wa* in other African languages.

"The only people who in earlier times had given a certain reputation to their name were the U'mtetwa, who preserved the tradition of having come from a more northern country, and we may with probability assume that the name Vatwah or Batwa that occurs in old writings is to be attributed to them. They were talked of under these names among their neighbours (at Delagoa Bay), and not without reason, as the first originators of the great war."

* Editor of Von der Decken's Travels. In narrative of Vasco de Gama's first voyage the population is said to be 12,000.

"North of Delagoa Bay, not far from the coast, the Tefula dialect of the Zulu is said to be the same as is generally spoken among the people of Sotshangene, the successor of Zwite. By the latest discoveries of Livingstone the Zulus have penetrated nearly to the equator, and in all these lands are the most dreaded warlike nation."

This may be considered as confirmed by some remarks in our consular reports. Shortly after the great outbreak of the Zulus in the second decade of this century, which led to the formation of Moselekatze's kingdom, and to a complete rearrangement of South African states, we find that the coast settlements of the Portuguese were attacked by a people called Vatuas. In 1833 they dismantled the fort of Lorenzo Marques at Delagoa Bay. In 1834 the governor and all the inhabitants of Inhambane fell into the hands of Manicusse, chief of the Northern Vatuas. In 1836, Sofala was attacked, pillaged, and burnt by them.

The name Vatwa or Vatua resembles the name Viti, by which, with the usual prefix *ma*, the tribe settled to the north of Lake Nyassa is known near the coast. The letter *v* in both cases is probably a softer sound for the letter *z*, which in Spanish is pronounced like *th*, so that the name Ma Zitu, by which they are known at a greater distance from the Portuguese, is really the same. Another prefix, and the pronunciation of the *z* hard, gives the name Wa Tuta, by which they are known on Lake Tanganika.

We have not been able to fix the precise date of the migration northward of the army that preferred a new home in the fastnesses of the Livingstone Mountains to returning after defeat, nor the cause of their defeat. It would be an interesting inquiry whether the object of the expedition was an attack on the Portuguese settle-

ments north of the Zambezi, and whether it was by the guns of the British cruisers that they were prevented from driving the Portuguese into the sea, for there are records of such events.

Of the recent history of their government some hints are given in conversations Livingstone had with Arab traders when he was detained in Manyuema in 1870. They will be found at pages 88, 97, and 98 of the second volume of his last journals.

They are a little fragmentary, but we read them thus. That seven chiefs or military leaders came northwards, of whom the survivor Charura, having added to his own family those of the other chiefs as they died, was reckoned the progenitor of the royal family, which the Arabs remark upon as being white like the Portuguese, with straight and thin noses, a statement which must be connected with the consideration that we should regard the Portuguese met with in the interior of Africa as being of very dark complexion.

His successor was Moenyegumbé, who is described as a man of great stature, and powerful enough, in Arab phrase, to strike his spear through an elephant; and he was also a man remarkable for temperance, wisdom, and courage.

His successor Goambari was deficient in these qualities, which led to a strange episode. Moenyegumbé had bestowed his daughter Kimamuré upon a military leader who had distinguished himself in fighting the people of Bema on the north-east, but who was a dark-coloured man of common extraction, named Garahenga. Of this marriage came Meréré, whom his mother incited to possess himself of power. They killed many of the descendants of Charura, of whom there were as many as sixty able spearmen in the third generation. To prevent

Goambari, in whose name they seem to have ruled, from throwing himself into the hands of Monyungo, who meditated a bloody revenge, they surrounded him with a guard of a thousand men, so as to have him as their prisoner.

But Merére listens to tales that the Arab traders are plotting to free Goambari, kills one of them, and confiscates the property of the others, thus shutting up the trade route. Then he becomes of a contrary opinion, and puts to death five of his own people for telling him lies about the Arabs, and offers compensation to the traders to induce them to return. The expedition against Kilwa, mentioned by Bishop Steere, may have been an attempt to rescue the country from its consequent isolation, but its failure would increase his unpopularity. The end is, that after giving way to habitual intoxication with native beer, he is reputed insane, and by last accounts, in 1873, had been put to death.

Whether the weak Goambari or the revengeful Monyungo is now chief we do not know, nor whether the ending of the exceptional position of the government will lead to the giving up of those savage raids which have been indulged in over a radius of 250 miles from their central stronghold.

The Ma Viti have indeed been heard of as far south as Magomero, within eighty miles of the Zambezi, but that may be the remains of the defeated army working their way back to the original settlements of their race.

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CHAPTER V.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AS TO OPENING OF ROADS.

We conclude with some observations on the effects of the opening of such a route as is proposed.

First, in its missionary aspect, besides the opening up of new fields of operations of the most important kind, it would be of great consequence, as furnishing an alternative connection with the coast to the London Missionary Society, in case of the road between Ujiji and Zanzibar being blocked up by war. It would also be useful in the same sense to the Scottish Missions at the south end of Nyassa, but not to the same degree, as they have probably by this time a route to the Zanzibar coast at Lindy, so as to make them independent of the Portuguese if they desire it. But the most important aspect is this, that in these Livingstone mountains we have the proper sanitarium for all the missions from the Zambezi to Ujiji, with convenient access by water from both north and south, and, if these roads were opened, from all directions.

The commercial aspects are important, because the position of the terminus at the great lakes is very favourable for the distribution of goods over a vast area, and for receiving products in return, not only along the shores of these lakes, but by a moderate land journey to the Chambeze, along the shores of Bangweolo, and the Luapula river.

While the land routes have attention, it must not be forgotten that there is a great line of water communication extending, with only two breaks at the rapids of the Shire and at this point, from the mouth of the Zambezi 1,200 miles to the head of Lake Tanganika. A road of

100 or 120 miles in length between the two lakes, which would be continuous with the road from the east coast, would complete this for traffic.

If the general view of the geography of the country which has been presented is considered, it will be apparent that, if a depot of goods were formed near the Mazitu settlement north of Nyassa, it could be supplied on equally favourable rates for transit, from the mouth of the Zambezi or from Kilwa. The question of the mercantile supply of Eastern Central Africa is one which will therefore probably be determined by the wisdom and liberality of the arrangements made by those in charge of those stations. Under the wise counsels of Dr. Kirk, Zanzibar is already moving in the matter, and may be expected to retain the lead, the duties being 5 per cent.*

Other questions of government might be settled by the proposed road. Three or four stations across the country from the coast for 250 miles inland would stop the raids of the Gangwaras. That of itself would be most important, permitting the industrious races to settle down again upon their fertile lands. But the great problem is how to approach the Kaffir race of Ma Zitu or Ma Viti, who dominate the country for 200 miles round the head of Nyassa, so as to induce them to govern for their own advantage and that of those around them. It would be a difficult task, but there can be no settlement of the country till it is accomplished. The American Missions in Natal are now, we believe, advancing to form stations among the parent stock behind Sofala; and the German Missionaries of the Transvaal are only prevented by want of funds from advancing to the same region. When things are settled a little at the south end of Lake Nyassa, we should like to have the

* For Portuguese tariffs see page 27.

report of a deputation from the Livingstonia colony, with some native Kaffirs to interpret, to the great chief at the head of the lake. Prospects of trade could be presented, connection with the outside world, and with the race from whom they came. Trade might be first in ivory and light articles; and if there were increased facilities of transit, in hides and horns and such bulky goods. The chief might be paid for the maintenance and security of a road first between the lakes, and then towards Kilwa. Lads might be taken to Livingstonia or Lovedale for industrial education; wagon-building might be introduced; school learning and religious instruction might follow.

If the bolder policy were to be adopted to effect the survey from Kilwa westward this year, so as to be fully prepared to take more advanced steps in the following year, three elements should be represented in the party to be sent. First, persons capable of judging of the general line of the country, so as to lay out a road, and also to select the permanent stations with a due regard to sanitary and defensive consideration; second, persons capable of judging of the capabilities of the soil, especially for the growth of tropical products; third, persons capable of judging in what way trade could be best developed. The country near the lakes, according to Livingstone, produces the South American quality of cotton; palm oil, India-rubber, sugar, &c., would be probable products; and coal, iron, copper, &c., are spoken of.

At the usual rate of African travelling, the journey to the Zulu town would occupy rather less than two months. That a line of route could be marked out in that time would appear to be possible from the experience of the Rev. Roger Price. We should be disposed to think that a band of Uniamwezi woodcutters might easily remove

the few obstructions that appear to present themselves to the passage of Scotch carts and wagons, which would be useful in forming a camp at once when halting.

To give a very general idea of the nature of the undertaking, in respect of expense, it is sufficient to say that a mere rapid survey of the country might be made for about £2,000 or £3,000. The expense of a road like the Indian jungle roads would be about £40 a mile. A tramway suitable for locomotives, if we may judge from the experience of the South African Copper Mines, might be made complete with rolling stock for £1,000 a mile, as far as the land continued as level as Von der Decken found it.*

Had the dense industrial populations Decken found on the way to Mesule, and the continuous villages on Lake Nyassa, and the diligent workers who terraced the slopes of Tanganika for cotton growing, not been all swept away, such a tramway might at once have been made with confidence of successful results. But, during the last sixteen years, the jungle has covered most of the cultivated lands, and progress must be tentative till we know whether remnants of the destroyed races remain to come from their hiding-places, and reclaim them.

Pending the time required for such movements to take effect, it is of some importance to maintain the trade route from Zanzibar territory to the south of Lake Nyassa. Dr. Steere, almost single-handed, has been keeping it open by journeys to Mataka's town; but the country is, like that farther north, in a state of anarchy, and defensive stations are required to enable the people to resume their settled occupations. It is a matter of justice to Mataka and the other chiefs, whose means of communication with the coast have been cut off by our

* For details see Handbook for Cape Colony, J. Noble page 83.

action in stopping the slave trade, to render the interval as short as possible, and to facilitate in every way the resumption of commercial intercourse. Unless we do this, we cannot expect that these chiefs will retain their respect for the pass of the Seyid of Zanzibar.

Of the programme indicated we may mention that the Free Church wrote three months ago to Livingstonia, calling attention to the importance of getting into communication with the Mazitu. As mentioned above, the mission has already had some relations with the scattered bands of this race at the southern end of the lake,* which may facilitate communications farther north.

When the route from the east coast is opened, we hope the Scottish missions may have shaken hands with the London Missionary Society across the isthmus that divides the lakes, and that a firm base of operations may then be attained for advancing westwards to put down the slave trade, of which Captain Cameron has just given such thrilling details.

* These Mazitu told Mr. E. D. Young that they had crossed the Zambezi near Zumbo, where the Soangwa joins it, in the year 1836. They are probably an offshoot from the Zulu invaders, who formed the Matabele kingdom about that time. The concession of the right of gold mining recently obtained by Mr. Baines in favour of the South Africa Gold Company from this king, extends nearly to Zumbo.

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